

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 164092

64

ORIGIN AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

66652

DRAFTED BY: AF/S:SFMCDONALD:LOF

APPROVED BY: AF/S:SFMCDONALD

----- 029855

R 291602Z JUL 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 164092

FOLLOWING REPEAT BRASILIA 5530 ACTION SECSTATE DATED
JULY 25, 1974.

QUOTE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 5530

E.O.11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, BR, PO

SUBJECT: CHILL IN BRAZILIAN/PORTUGUESE RELATIONS

REF: BRASILIA 5392

SUMMARY: MAJOR BRAZILIAN JOURNALS, DRAWING ON OFFICIAL
SOURCES, HAVE ASCRIBED BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU,
AT LEAST IN PART, TOPACK OF COMMUNICATION WITH
PORTUGAL. THIS ILLUSTRATES HAT APPEARS TO BE A SHARP
SEPARATION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND APPEARS TO HAVE
LED BRAZIL TO A POLICY OF OPPORTUNISM IN REGARD TO THE
AFRICAN TERRITORIES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PRESTIGIOUS O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, IN TWO ARTICLES
APPEARING JULY 20, GAVE WHAT SEEM TO BE AUTHORITATIVE
ACCOUNTS OF THE ATTITUDES OF BOTH PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL
WHICH LED TO THE CURRENT CHILL IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 164092

THE TWO OVER THE STATUS OF PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN TERRITORIES.
THE FIRST ARTICLE, BY LISBON CORRESPONDENT HERMANO ALVES, IS
HEADLINED "LISBON GOVERNMENT OFFENDED (MAGOADO) BY THE
ITAMARATY DECISION," AND APPEARS TO DRAW ON OFFICIAL
SOURCES. ALVES RELATES THAT THE BRAZILIAN DECISION TO

RECOGNIZE GUINEA-BISSAU CAUSED GREAT SURPRISE IN THE LISBON GOVERNMENT, QUOTING A HIGHLY-PLACED OFFICIAL AT THE BELEM PALACE TO THE EFFECT THAT SPINOLA WAS OFFENDED BY THE BRAZILIAN ATTITUDE, AND A SOURCE AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BRAZILIAN ACTION WAS "UNFRIENDLY." ALVES MAKES CLEAR THAT BOTH SOURCES STRESSED THAT THE OFFENSE WAS NOT SO MUCH IN THE BRAZILIAN ACTION AS IN BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GIVE LISBON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF IT. ALVES NOTES THAT THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES DID GIVE PRIOR NOTICE TO PORTUGAL BEFORE EXTENDING RECOGNITION TO GUINEA-BISSAU, AND ASKS, "DOES THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CONSULTATION STILL EXIST BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL?"

2. ALVES REFERS TO BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR FONTOURA'S "DIS-AGREEABLE TASK" OF NOTIFYING FOREIGN MINISTER SOARES OF THE BRAZILIAN DECISION AFTER IT HAD ALREADY BEEN FEATURED IN THE LISBON PRESS, AND DESCRIBES THE REACTION OF PORTUGUESE OFFICIALDOM AS BEING THAT THE TREATY OF CONSULTATIONS IS "A DEAD LETTER." ALVES THEN, OBVIOUSLY DRAWING ON OFFICIAL LISBON SOURCES, DESCRIBES HOW "DIPLOMATIC CONTENTION" DREW BETWEEN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL SINCE LAST APRIL 25. HE CLAIMS THAT SPINOLA AT THAT TIME EXPRESSED A STRONG DESIRE THAT BRAZIL WITHDRAW THE AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATION OF GENERAL FONTOURA, WHICH WAS APPROVED BY THE CAETANO GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT SPINOLA FINALLY ACCEPTED FONTOURA IN THE FACE OF BRAZILIAN "INTRANSIGENCE." THE NEXT POINT OF IRRITATION, ACCORDING TO ALVES, AROSE WHEN FONTOURA DELIVERED TO SOARES, ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE LONDON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PAIGC, A NOTE FROM THE OAU SUGGESTING BRAZILIAN MEDIATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, A SUGGESTION THAT PORTUGAL IGNORED. FINALLY, ALVES CONTINUES, WITH THE "TRANSMISSION OF POWERS" IN GUINEA GUARANTEED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE SEPTEMBER, BRAZIL RECOGNIZED "THE PAIGC GOVERNMENT" WITHOUT EVEN PRIOR NOTICE TO PORTUGAL.

3. ALVES REPORTS THAT SPINOLA, ON JULY 19, RELATED TO
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 164092

HIS ADVISERS THAT HE HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN DEVELOPING COURTEOUS RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL BY SENDING GENERAL GALVAO DE MAELO AND MAJOR VITOR ALVES TO BRAZIL, AND HAD ALLOWED GALVAO TO EULOGIZE BRAZIL ON NATIONAL TV AFTER HIS RETURN TO PORTUGAL "IN SPITE OF CRITICISM FROM THE LEFT." BECAUSE OF THIS, ALVES CONTINUES, SPINOLA WAS SHOCKED BY THE BRAZILIAN "COMMUNICATION OF A CONSUMMATED FACT." ALVES WRITES, "THE GENERAL OPINION (AND IT CAN BE CALLED NOTHING ELSE) HOLDS THAT THE ITAMARATY IS USELESSLY INSISTING ON DEVELOPING AN AFRICAN POLICY AT PORTUGAL'S EXPENSE, AT THE VERY HOUR AT WHICH THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS IS MOVING FORWARD. THE RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU FORETELLS THE OPENING OF A PRECEDENT FOR BRAZILIAN DIPLOMATIC ACTIONS

OF WHATEVER SORT IN RELATION TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE--
ABOVEALL BECAUSE OF PETROLIUM, NON-FERROUS METALS, IN-
DUSTRIAL DIAMONDS AND A MARKET FOR THE ABSORPTIONOF IN-
DUSTRIAL PRODUCTS. WHETHER OR NOT THIS VERSION IS TRUE,
THE FACT IS THAT THERE IS A CLIMATE OF DISTRUST IN PORTUGAL
IN RELATION TO BRAZILIAN MOTIVES."

4. THE ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE, DATELINED BRAZILIAN AND ALSO
DRAWING ON OFFICIAL SOURCES, GIVES A DIFFERENT PICTURE OF
EVENTS. QUOTING FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES, THE ARTICLE
CLAIMS THAT BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU BEFORE
THE GRANTING OF ITS INDEPENDENCE "CAN GIVE A STIMULATING
EFFECT ONTHE LISBON-BRASILIA DIALOGUE, WHICH HAS REMAINED
IN A STATE OF APPARENT COOLNESS, IN SPITE OF BRAZILIAN
INITIATIVES TO MAINTAIN THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE TWO COUNTRIES." THE ARTICLE STATES THAT BRAZILIAN
RECOGNITION WAS GRANTED AFTER LISBON HAD FAILED TO RESPOND
TO THE COMMUNICATION TRANSMITTING THE OAU REQUEST FOR
BRAZILIAN INFLUENCE ON PORTUGAL IN RELATION TO THE FUTURE
OF THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES. THE ARTICLE MAINTAINS THAT
PORTUGAL FOLLOWED AN ATTITUDE OF "SILENCE AND SEPARATION"
FROM BRAZIL AND AFRICAN MATTERS IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT
BRAZIL'S ANTI-COLONIALIST POSITION WAS SUBORDINATED IN THE
PAST TO ITS STRONG TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH PORTUGAL, WHICH
NOT ONLY COST BRAZIL VOTES IN THE UN ON VITAL ISSUES, BUT
ALSO ENDANGERED ITS POSITION WITH PETROLEUM SUPPLIERS.
AFTER THE LISBON COUP, THE ARTICLE CONTINUES, BRAZIL
RECOGNIZED THE NEW GOVERNMENT " IN THE DARK" AND ALSO
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 STATE 164092

ACCEPTED THE POLIITICALLY DANGEROUS REQUEST OF PORTUGAL
FOR THE EXILE OF AMERICO THOMAZ AND MARCELLO CAETANO,
BOTH GESTURES INTENDED TO MAINTAIN THE "SPECIAL TIES"
BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. UNFORTUNATELY, THE ARTICLE
LAMENTS, PORTUGAL THEN TURNED TOWARD EUROPE POLITICALLY,
RESERVING FOR BRAZIL ONLY THE POLITICALLY INSIGNIFICANT
GALVAO DE MELO VISIT, WHILE FOREIGN MINISTER SOARES PUBLICLY
SOUGHT TO LIMIT THE TIES BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL TO
THOSE OF CULTURAL AFFINITY: MEANWHILE AFRICA AWAITED A
"CONSTRUCTIVE GESTURE" FROM BRAZIL ON DECOLONIZATION.

5. THUS, THE ARTICLE CONTINUES, WHEN THE NEWS OF THE
IMMINENT CONCESSION OF INDEPENDENCE TO GUINEA-BISSAU
REACHED BRASILIA LAST LAST WEEK, BRAZIL "RAN THE RISK OF
GETTING TO GUINEA AFTER PORTUGAL," AND COULD NO LONGER
AWAIT A PORTUGUESE RESPONSE ON THE OAU REQUEST. WITH THE
RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU AS A "SISTER NATION," THE
ARTICLE GOES ON, BRAZIL MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IS THE
ATTITUDE IT WILL ALSO ADOPT IN RELATION TO ANGOLA AND
MOZAMBIQUE. PORTUGAL WAS INFORMED IN ADVANCE OF THE
BRAZILIAN ACTION, THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES.

6. OTHER PROMINENT PRESS FEATURES GENERALLY FOLLOW THE BRAZILIAN LINE SET OUT IN THE ARTICLE DESCRIBED ABOVE, BUT SOME OFFERED ADDITIONAL NUANCES. THE WELL-CONNECTED JORNAL DO BRASIL, FOR INSTANCE, EXPRESSES THE BELIEF OF BRAZILIAN DIPLOMATS THAT THE BRAZILIAN ACTION WILL HAVE "A DECISIVE INFLUENCE" ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL FOR PROMPT SETTLEMENT OF THE GUINEA-BISSAU ISSUE. THE JORNAL NOTES THAT "...CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE DECISION-MAKING SPHERE IN BRASILIA SEEK TO IDENTIFY IN THE SOCIALIST BACKGROUND OF MARIO SOARES OR IN THE COMMUNIST CONVICTIONS OF ALVARO CUNHAL THE SOURCE OF LISBON'S RESISTANCE TO A MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY BRAZIL IN THE DECOLONIZATION PROBLEM..." BUT ASSERTS THAT SOARES' ADVISERS ARE PRO-BRAZILIAN. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE DECISION TO RECOGNIZE GUINEA-BISSAU WAS MADE PERSONALLY BY PRESIDENT GEISEL AND IS "IRREVERSIBLE." THE LIBERAL JORNAL DE BRASILIA, REFERRING TO A HIGH GOVERNMENT SOURCE, ATTRIBUTES THE RECOGNITION TO BRAZILIAN "DISSATISFACTION WITH THE COLDNESS AND DISTANCE WITH WHICH IT IS BEING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 STATE 164092

TREATED BY LISBON," AND STATES FLATLY THAT THE BRAZILIAN DECISION "WAS ONLY COMMUNICATED TO LISBON AFTER THE FACT AND ONLY AS A COURTESY."

7. THESE ARTICLES WERE FOLLOWED ON JULY 22 BY A DISPATCH FROM JORNAL DO BRASIL'S LISBON CORRESPONDENT AREUJO NETTO TO THE EFFECT THAT PORTUGAL'S COUNCIL OF STATE HAD APPROVED INDEPENDENCE LEGISLATION FOR GUINEA-BISSAU, AND ON JULY 23 BY AN AP DISPATCH, WHICH RECEIVED VERY LITTLE PLAY, FLATLY DENYING THE NETTO STORY.

8. COMMENT: IT APPEARS THAT BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU WAS, IN FACT, PRECIPITATED BY NEWS OF AN "IMMINENT" PORTUGUESE CONCESSION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THAT TERRITORY. WE ARE INFORMED THAT THE SENEGALESE AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL CARRIED A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SENGHOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA ON JULY 15 CALLING FOR RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND WAS GIVEN A DISCOURAGING RESPONSE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF RECOGNITION ON THE 18TH SURPRISED THE SENEGALESE AMBASSADOR AS MUCH AS ANYONE ELSE AND THE INCIDENT LENDS WEIGHT TO THE PRESS ACCOUNT IN PARA 5 ABOVE.

9. WE BELIEVE THAT BRAZIL'S CAREFULLY CALCULATED PLAN FOR DEALING WITH THE CAETANO GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES--A SERIES OF INCREMENTAL ACTION DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AFRICANS AND KEEP A CHANNEL OPEN TO LISBON FOR AN EVENTUAL BRAZILIAN ROLE AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE TWO--WAS DEMOLISHED BY THE APRIL 25 COUP IN LISBON AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. WHEN IT

BECAME CLEAR THAT PORTUGAL WAS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE
DIRECTLY WITH LEADERS OF THE PAIGC, NEITHER PORTUGAL NOR
THE OAU HAD ANY FURTHER NEED--FOR THE MOMENT, AT LEAST--
FOR BRAZILIAN MEDIATION, AND BRAZIL'S ATTEMPT TO INJECT
ITSELF INTO THE SITUATION BY MEANS OF THE OAU NOTE (BRASILIA
4061) WAS COLDLY RECEIVED. BRAZIL THUS FINDS ITSELF
WITHOUT A ROLE IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS AND IS FORCED
BACK UPON UNILATERAL AND, GENERALLY, OPPURTUNISTIC ACTION
TO STAY IN THE GAME. WE BELIEVE THE BRAZILIAN OBJECTIVE
IS TO KEEP ITS HEAD ABOVE WATER WITH THE AFRICANS WHILE
AWAITING A TURN IN EVENTS--A STALEMATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS,
OR, PERHAPS, A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT IN LISBON--THAT MIGHT
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 06 STATE 164092

RESTORE TO IT THE ROLE IT SEEKS. IN ORDER TO DO THIS,
BRAZIL APPEARS READY TO DAMAGE ITS "SPECIAL TIES" WITH
LISBON, AT LEAST SO LONG AS THE PRESENT PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT,
WITH WHICH THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO FEEL UNCOM-
FORTABLE, PREVAILS. THESE TIES, IN ANY CASE, SEEM NOT
TO HAVE BEEN STRONGLY FELT IN LISBON IN RECENT WEEKS, AND
IT IS APPARENT THAT BRAZIL'S POLICY OF "RESPONSIBLE
PRAGMATISM" FINDS THE POTENTIAL MEDIATING ROLE OVERTAKEN BY
EVENTS AND THE "SPECIAL TIES" DIMINISHED BY THEM.
CRIMMINS UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, RECOGNITION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, DEPENDENCIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE164092
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF/S:SFMCDONALD:LOF
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740206-0199
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740789/abbryzsr.tel
Line Count: 246
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BRASILIA 5392
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAY 2002 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <24 FEB 2003 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CHILL IN BRAZILIAN/PORTUGUESE RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, BR, PO, PU
To: LOURENCO MARQUES
LUANDA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005